to stomach ache, in the same way as it would be graceless to think that one could catch cold from the playing of thingyan water. 796 262

During the three days of the festival communal celebrations were also carried on, with shows and free feasting every night at pandals put up by each section of the streets. By the *a-tetnay*, rising day, when the Tha-gya Min goes back to the heavenly regions, everyone was a bit worn out, but the more energetic spirits declared that Tha-gya Min had forgotten his pipe or umbrella and had come back for one day more to fetch it. People try not to tell lies, quarrel, swear or lose their tempers during the days of the New Year. Apart from the offence it would give to the ears of the heavenly visitor in the vicinity it was considered a bad omen to begin the new year with such wicked behaviour. Children were always warned not to be disobedient in case the Tha-gya Min should note it, but the reason was also that the grown-ups should not be forced to scold them during this period. Woe to the servant maid who blunders then; greater woe indeed for her sin in causing the mistress to scold her and use angry words. 796 861

The years saw little change in the social programme of our visits to Ye, but in the absence of social changes, the human element always seemed more strong and primitive, and all the drama and romance of which we had so little in our placid district houses was concentrated in Ye. Life there seemed more full of physical movement and danger, anger was more strong, love more sweeping, quarrels more deep and lasting than we were used to. Births, deaths, disease and elopements all seemed to happen more frequently. It was all terror, excitement and romance to us. 000

A robbery at any of the houses in the village woke the whole quarter up, house by house, as the screams from there were taken up by frightened neighbours. My male cousins and all the men of the village hitched their longyis up around their loins, ran hither and thither in the night, with lanterns in one hand and dahs in the other. The womenfolk, as soon as the men had rushed out to the rescue, barricaded their doors and collected together in a whispering group, lest the fleeing robber should dodge into an open doorway in the shuttered line and demand silence and shelter at the point of his dah. On these occasions when we huddled together already terror-stricken, my grandmother recounted her story of the time when she failed to shut her door in time, and the robber was in the shadow of it as she went forward to fold it. "Not a word," he said, showing his blade. "Look out and see which way they have gone. Are they there? How many? Is the street clear? Don't talk loud." In this way Grandmother helped the felon to escape. Once or twice during the day we saw a saung, a blanket 674

674 like ours except that patches of blood made violent interruptions on the
764 chaste red and white striped design, being slung on a pole, carrying a
775 woman who had been hacked by the dah of a hot-tempered husband. When one of the villagers had died a sudden death through poisoning, we listened wide-eyed to Ma Aye Shwe's account of his burial. All the old and broken bottles of Ye had been collected and ground up. His grave was dug, and after the coffin had been put into it, was filled up with alternating layers of earth and of powdered glass. This was because one of our persisting animist beliefs is that a spirit whose body dies a "green" death, that is, sudden, violent and unnatural, will walk about the earth in the form of an undesirable ghost, and hence the glass which will keep it under the earth and prevent its escape, much as thieves are deterred from climbing a wall which has powdered glass strewn along its top.

731 Every few years also, the water of the Ye creek rose so high that the ground and main floors of all the houses were flooded, and my grandmother and aunts had to retreat with all perishable goods and furniture to the high reaches of the platform storey and camp there till the water retreated. How we longed to visit Ye when this happened, but the nearest we came to realizing these floods was to see unexpected little patches of the sand of the creek every now and again in the houses, where the traces of the visiting waters had not been swept away. In one really bad year the waters at chaung-bya swelled into a mountainous flood which rose suddenly in a great roar and carried with it huts and rafts and stored
[772] goods of all kinds. Grandmother and my great-aunts watched dumbly from the top of the pagoda hill, while cocks and hens and dogs and people clung to the thatched roofs of the floating houses, the cocks crowing and dogs baying and people praying, all rushing swiftly and inevitably past Ye, towards the great Thamoddhaya, the great ocean which is part of the waters which break the girdle of the Settkyawala Mountains circling the world around Myinmo Mount. Every few years, as a matter of fact, Uncle Thet Hnan, who had a garden and house at chaung-bya, lost a few tins of sesamum oil, or some part of his bamboo structures. This was because they all built and rebuilt the houses too near the water, to provide a quick escape from dacoits and enemies.

674 It was a dangerous life in these gardens even during our most recent years there, and my cousin Nyein Maung who was the stalwart to give my aunts most protection, developed into a rough and ready dispenser of justice. On one occasion he watched the hand of a thief creep up through the bamboo slathes of the flooring on which his little son played. The child wore a gold anklet which the hand coming out of the darkness tried to wrench off. Nyein Maung who anticipated that

the thief would soon lose his patience and cut off the troublesome ankle joint, gave a swift and gentle cut at the hand with his own dah, and went on calmly with his work, while the thief realizing the justice of it, quietly withdrew his hand and fled. To these tucked-away gardens, also, came the deformed and mentally defective members of households, to find a more secluded place from public jeering both of themselves and of their families. We felt sad to see the goitre growths and scarred faces, but as children we joined in with the baiting of old crones whose great accomplishment was to utter automatic and irrelevant imprecations whenever they were dug in the ribs.

A much happier aspect was that in Ye the young people were always eloping. As I grew older I used to wonder that love came so easily and in such unlikely places. A proper elopement must have certain attendant circumstances. Usually the parents do not agree to it, but quite often also the two people are very young and feel that love is wicked and is bound to be disapproved of, so they decide to elope. There is always a confidante of the girl's or man's or both, to help with the arrangements for the flight, or for the refuge. The girl usually wraps a few clothes in a small cloth bundle, and from the meeting place the journey to the secret destination is made by canoe, or bullock cart. The disappearance of the girl is soon discovered, the alarm is given, people rush about with exciting news, mother and father make a crying visit to the house of the elder friend and adviser of their or the young man's family, and beat their breasts at the shamelessness and wickedness of the girl. The hidden couple are soon tracked down, a reconciliation takes place and a proper wedding feast is held for the young people. Then the whole disgrace is completely forgotten, until about seventeen years later, when perhaps the daughter of the bride elopes, and her friends commiserating with her tears, shake their heads sadly and say that this is *nga-yè*, the punishment for her own sin of seventeen years before.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a consummate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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might be bribed. The usual result is to break the robber's spirit. Once the continuity is interrupted the consecration is gone. More peaceable people wear necklaces or bracelets of such talismans in the belief that they are thus proof against malignant witches and necromancers. Most Englishmen in Burma, who are on friendly terms with the people, have been asked to test the virtue of such a charm, by firing at it tied up in a handkerchief. If the incantation is valid the handkerchief will be unharmed, though the muzzle of the pistol be held up to it. In such a case the pistol will burst.

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Another kind of tattooing is the mwe se, which guards against danger from snake bite. Similarly the a-kwè a-ka, the shielding, or defending drug, renders harmless the spells of wizards and geomancers, and keeps far away evil spirits of every kind. But the most hideous and weird of the superstitions about tattooing is that connected with the a-kyan se. There are but very few sayās who are acquainted with the necessary drugs and incantations, and fewer people still who have the courage to submit to the operation, for many men are pointed out whose minds have given way under the gruesome process, and who wander about graveyards, gnashing their teeth and fumbling about for human bones to gnaw and mouth. And no wonder, for some tattooers make them chew the raw flesh of a man who has been hanged, while the figure is being tattooed on the breast. Those who go through the operation are called Baw-di-tha-da. Some become Baw-di-tha-da without knowing it, and without the sickening necessity of mumbling human flesh like a ghoul. I knew an instance in a monastery. The patient was a boarder about fourteen years of age. A Shan tattooer wandering about the country spent a couple of nights in the kyaung, and the boy, attracted by the fellow's eerie tales, managed to save up a good many titbits for him from the food going in the monastery. Out of gratitude, and having nothing better to give him, for he was very poor and homeless, the sayā tattooed on the lad a figure with singular drugs, muttering queer phrases the while. Then he went away saying no more than that it would make the boy very strong. In about a month's time the boarder displayed unmistakable signs of being a Baw-di-tha-da. He

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Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma
Europeans

down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excitement the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people, regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when the English flag was to float over all the land as far as Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where, even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity. Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for himself, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty, were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower Burma.

Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

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243 427 433 435 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d. and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

243 511 454

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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Indians
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563 463 184 [262] within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 511 556 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 669 674 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

●674 563 175 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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On February 18, 1950, on arriving in the village early in the morning for our usual daily period of observation and interviewing concerning village life, we were immediately struck by the absence of villagers going to and fro in their daily tasks and by the deadly silent atmosphere pervading the whole village scene. On the veranda of one house located just across the bridge leading into the village a large number of people was assembled. An informant related that on the previous evening, about eleven o'clock, some fifteen armed bandits carrying automatic weapons as well as small arms came via Pazundaung Creek and invaded the village. Firing their guns into the air to frighten the people, they proceeded directly to the house where the large gathering was now assembled and demanded Rs. 1000 in cash and ten ticals of gold. When the head of the household protested that he did not have that much, they took him to the ricefields, bound his feet, and shot him to death. They also visited another home and made demands upon the woman who was the head of the household. When money was not forthcoming, they tied up the members of the family, struck the woman on the head, and removed all the clothing in the house except that being worn. Although the police were notified immediately after this attack upon the village, they did not come to investigate until many hours later. Villagers expected no real assistance from the authorities, whom they considered incompetent and afraid of bandits. The village headman said that although he suspected that there were accomplices among the villagers, he was afraid to name these suspects to the police, lest revenge be taken upon himself and his family.

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This event, climaxing a series of attacks upon the village within the past year, set in motion a number of actions which are interesting for what they reveal of the social structure of the village as well as for the light they throw on intergroup relations.

The village headman, who had spoken of the need for the community to arm itself, and of the high cost of doing so, decided that a village meeting should be called to consider the matter.

A few days after the murder described above, the meeting was called. Early one morning the village crier went through the community sounding a gong and summoning the people to the school-house. Within an hour some fifty villagers arrived. As the group slowly gathered, several men came to tell the headman that their gardening or other work was urgent and asked to be excused.

As the meeting began, the elders sat on the veranda of the school-house, surrounding the headman, who sat at the schoolmaster's desk. A good deal of informal discussion took place between the elders and the headman before the meeting was called to order, and it was at this point that actual decision making was doubtless done.

The headman opened the meeting formally by addressing the assembled group, telling them that he was sure they were tired of the attacks upon the village and that they wanted to take action; that there was no future for them so long as they remained defenseless; and that once the rainy season came, it would not even be possible to flee during an attack. Although he could have made a decision in consultation with the elders, the headman told the gathering, he had called a general meeting because he wanted to be sure the community would support him in any course of action he might take.

The headman now proposed that a fund be raised for the purchase of arms and a plan formulated for defending the village. Since the idea of a common

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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621 • 674 fund, which he had broached informally on past occasions, did not meet with enthusiasm, the headman suggested that the village be divided into territorial units, and that each unit be responsible for raising its own money for arms and for deciding on the custody of its weapons. He called for volunteers from the elders to take responsibility for soliciting funds from inhabitants of their respective areas.

The headman's speech was met with total silence for a time, followed by a great deal of whispered conversation among various small groups. At this point the eldest man in Tadagale, himself a retired headman and a relative of the present headman, exhorted, 'Speak out your thoughts. It is not good to keep things bottled up within yourselves.' The headman now told the group that as their representative he could do nothing unless they wished it.

As hushed conversations continued among the assembled villagers, the headman and elders proceeded to talk among themselves for several minutes. It was then and there decided that each household would be asked to contribute what it could afford; no fixed assessment would be levied. A household too poor to contribute to its unit fund would be expected to help in the event that an attack occurred. Since some elders objected to giving assistance to any unit which chose not to arm or could not afford to, it was decided that armed groups would not come to their aid. Now another call for volunteers to raise funds was made by the headman, and several elders offered their services. The headman asked them to make every effort to persuade people to contribute.

623 If we may digress for a moment, this village meeting is instructive in showing how authority is exercised and decision making takes place in the community. The traditional emphasis upon the wisdom and authority of age is seen in the fact that only the elders spoke in the meeting, although the headman presumably called the meeting, in the first place, to mobilize village-wide support and tried to evoke expressions of opinion. An informant questioned later about the meeting said, 'It is not customary for the younger people to voice their opinions or take part in the discussion during a meeting. The elders do that.' The idea of a free give-and-take discussion is almost totally foreign to these peasants, who live but a few miles from Rangoon, a center of diffusion for western concepts and practices.

621 563 To return to the bearing of the above described meeting on Indian-Burmese relations in the village. During the meeting the question arose whether the Indians would be asked to contribute to the fund for purchasing arms, to which the headman answered in the affirmative. At that point one man quipped, 'Of course they must contribute; they have thousands of rupees.' [The meeting was also concerned with defending the village against bandits.--Analyst.]

Two spokesmen for the Indians were present. The village headman explained to them that those who lived towards the northern end of the village would be included in a nearby unit for defense purposes, while the others could contribute their money directly to him. Then, half in jest, he said that each Indian household should give the cost of one gun. Somewhat irritated, one of the Indian spokesmen said that if need be he was willing to pay for five guns, but the question he wanted answered was who would have custody of the weapons. The headman was extremely hesitant to answer, and the Indians left the meeting without a definite answer.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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651 merchant as much as fifty or sixty. The assessment
621 was levied according to the means of the villagers. So well was this done, that complaints against the decisions of the assessors were almost unknown—I might, I think, safely say were absolutely unknown. The assessment was made publicly, and each man was heard in his own defence before being assessed. Then the money was collected. If by any chance, such as death, any family could not pay, the deficiency was made good by the other villagers in proportion. When the money was got in it was paid to the governor.

●674 Crime such as gang-robbery, murder, and so on,
627 had to be reported to the governor, and he arrested
177 the criminals if he felt inclined, and knew who they were, and was able to do it. Generally something was in the way, and it could not be done. All lesser crime was dealt with in the village itself, not only dealt with when it occurred, but to a great extent prevented from occurring. You see, in a village anyone knows everyone, and detection is usually easy. If a man became a nuisance to a village, he was expelled. I have often heard old Burmans talking about this, and comparing these times with those. In those times all crimes were unpunished, and there was but little petty crime. Now all big criminals are relentlessly hunted down by the police; and the inevitable weakening of the village system has led to a large increase of petty crime, and certain breaches of morality and good conduct. I remember talking to a man not long ago—a man who had been a headman in the king's time, but was not so now. We were chatting of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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681 779 what he had been taught at school. As to the conduct of his master, he would be content to leave that unexplained. The Buddhist is content to leave many things unexplained until he can see the meaning. He is not fond of theories. If he does not know, he says so. 'It is beyond me,' he will say; 'I do not understand.' He has no theory of an occidental mind to explain acts of ours of which he cannot grasp the meaning; he would only not understand.

But the pity of it—think of the pity of it all! Surely there is nothing more pathetic than this: that a sinner should not understand the wherefore of his sentence, that the justice administered to him should be such as he cannot see the meaning of.

674 Certain forms of crime are very rife in Burma. The villages are so scattered, the roads so lonely, the amount of money habitually carried about so large, the people so habitually careless, the difficulty of detection so great, that robbery and kindred crimes are very common; and it is more common in the districts of the delta, long under our rule, than in the newly-annexed province in the north. Under like conditions the Burman is probably no more criminal and no less criminal than other people in the same state of civilization. Crime is a condition caused by opportunity, not by an inherent state of mind, except with the very few, the exceptional individuals; and in Upper Burma there is, now that the turmoil of the annexation is past, very little crime comparatively. There is less money there, and the village system—the control of the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

community over the individual—the restraining influence of public opinion and of religion is greater. But even during the years of trouble, the years from 1885 till 1890, when, in the words of the Burmese proverb, 'the forest was on fire and the wild-cat slapped his arm,' there were certain peculiarities about the criminals that differentiated them from those of Europe. You would hear of a terrible crime, a village attacked at night by brigands, a large robbery of property, one or two villagers killed, and an old woman tortured for her treasure, and you would picture the perpetrators as hardened, brutal criminals, lost to all sense of humanity, tigers in human shape; and when you came to arrest them—if by good luck you did so—you would find yourself quite mistaken. One, perhaps, or two of the ringleaders might be such as I have described, but the others would be far different. They would be boys or young men led away by the idea of a frolic, allured by the romance of being a free-lance for a night, very sorry now, and ready to confess and do all in their power to atone for their misdeeds. Nothing, I think, was more striking than the universal confession of criminals on their arrest. Even now, despite the spread of lawyers and notions of law, in country districts accused men always confess, sometimes even they surrender themselves.[1] I have known many such cases. Here is one that happened to myself only the other day.

A man was arrested in another jurisdiction for cattle theft; he was tried there and sentenced to

[1] This was written in 1896. In 1902 it is very different. The increase of all forms of perjury and false evidence is universal.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG PETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

792 512 524 577 [689]

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

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When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingé*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahándaw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

792 [871]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals.

A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashit-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thwun* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131

Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles	158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900	10,556,104 acres.

161

POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460)	9,221,161
Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
,, death ,, ,,	28·16

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

162

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797 / females, 3,098,385 }	6,129,182
(Increase since 1881, 22¼ per cent.)	
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,200
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has
651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

1674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
,, ,, hurt	2,691
,, ,, rape	76
,, ,, robbery	654
,, ,, theft	8,681

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done somewhat surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[12]

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Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators. "The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted." Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house, as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

[782]
In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness, however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused the epidemic.

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In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus, a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreasonable, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma ... without invoking his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks of this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Nat cultus, but in vain.[14]

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Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world, which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[12] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1928) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmans?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

which was not at all unknown in European countries. About it see: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen /Ethnographic Parallels/ (1878), pp. 18 ff.; F.S. Krauss, "Das Bauopfer bei den Südslaven" /Building Sacrifice among the Southern Slavs/, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Wien /Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. 17 (1887), pp. 16 ff.; W.T. Brigham, The Ancient Hawaiian House (Memoirs B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu II, 3), pp. 27 ff.

In earlier days every Burmese settlement was surrounded by a fortification, cities having stone walls or stockades, the villages impenetrable fences of close rows of thorny bamboo shrubs, prickly cacti, or palisade-like fences of bamboo poles between which pointed bamboo stakes protruded. The latter type of fortification exists today only in the areas where the mountain tribes live, beyond the zone of British administration. Before the British took over, the constant feuds between the individual tribes and the excesses of robbery made it necessary for each village to protect itself like a fort. With the increased safety of travel and property under the British rule this has become more and more unnecessary, although some districts still experience nocturnal robberies. The villages in the Prome District, which has one of the worst criminal records in Burma, are with practically no exfeptions enclosed by dense high, thorny hedges which have only narrow entrances.

The buildings of the Shan (11)--population in

11. Cf. especially L. Milne, Shans at Home (London, 1910), pp. 100 ff.; A.K. Gebauer, "Die nördlichen Schanstaaten und ihre Bewohner" /The Nor-